1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l·aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
● 602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always pre-
796 cedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

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company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter nto intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

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602 592 [578] The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachū*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachū* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish [609] a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor [587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 572 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16]

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans.

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Housse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Each kuga had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillán (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grove, likan pebble, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, rhea, tiger, paŋke, llaŋka, condor, snake, mountain ridge, bone, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 311). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kuga name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the llama kuga, he would call his sons according to circumstances, "white llama," "black llama," "running llama," "woodland shade" (where llamas rest in summer), etc. (Havestadt, 1883, 2:641).

According to Havestadt (1883, 2:641), sons derived their kuga name from their father's kuga. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same cúnga [=kuga]. Latcham, however, (1922 b. pp. 323–25) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kuga element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kuga. According to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 139), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kuga name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 38) and Guevara Silva (1929, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Havestadt, 1883, 2:641—neither very clear on this point.)

Members of a given kuga had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and sided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kuga eponym to the kuga members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877–78, 1:5), many "linages" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Falkner, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the cast went to live with its eponym (1935, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

622 Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own [595] classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that *he* was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 837 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of *wife giver* and *wife receiver*, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart.

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system.

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*füllatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*weza*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (llekurewen) connected with their own "society."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has
602 been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:107).

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583 423 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 602 583 571 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 431 602 571 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun:* brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wrupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1961), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for lovemaat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awo

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which usually through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of local residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (one member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is focused in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the matrilineal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the matrilineal kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu ave, pu laku, huiñche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during dilatues, and the concept of *huiñche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayers, offered outside the context of dilatues or *ava*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this possibility.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the women's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the *tiillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between the regional congregational expression of *ewn*, *tiillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

764 613 602

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *ewn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

[761]

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Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
598 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [597] [571]

* This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
•602 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
613 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
578 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm.
[583] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
579 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, *vis-à-vis* the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
602 believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
[595 outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[198 than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[754 tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

1,2 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections --
Analyst]

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[782]

difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *küllatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571

A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

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A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *fillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called weku (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *fillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *fillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
602 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
613 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
578 large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *kawchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *awn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*fiillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *fiillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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582 671 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *fiuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?